

29
29/1/57

AFRICA FOR AFRICANS



NYASALAND

demands Secession
and INDEPENDENCE

By
KANYAMA CHIUME

Published by
MIDDLE EAST PUBLICATIONS

098.4006, Chiume.

NYASALAND

**demands Secession
and INDEPENDENCE**

By

KANYAMA CHIUME

Published by
MIDDLE EAST PUBLICATIONS

Printed by
THE NATIONAL PUBLICATIONS HOUSE PRESS

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE NYASALAND AFRICAN CONGRESS :

- (1) To work for and maintain the unity of the Africans of Nyasaland Protectorate and to carry out a vigorous attack on all forms of tribalism and provincialism.
- (2) To work as a vigorous conscious vanguard for removing all forms of oppression and for the establishment of a democratic government in Nyasaland.
- (3) To work for the secession of Nyasaland from the imposed Central African Federation as long as it exists.
- (4) To work with other nationalistic organisations with a view to removing colonialism, racialism, and all forms of national and racial oppression and economic inequality among nations, races and people and to support all actions for World peace.

Secondary School Debating Society and at Fabora was Secretary of the Debating society. In 1952 was Chairman of the Makerere College Political Society and organised the first demonstration at the College against apartheid in South Africa.

In 1953, he was chairman of the Makerere College Education Society and organised a three week tour of the Congo to study education system there. The tour consisted of five students and one lecturer at Makerere College (now Minister in the Uganda Government).

After College :

Taught at the Church Missionary Society School at Sodoma in Tanganyika but resigned in 1954 to go back to Nyasaland where after Government refusal to allow him to teach at Livingstonia Mission School, organised with others the Nyaso College Association with a view to building a College for needy but deserving students in the country. The Government refused to co-operate and would not give permission to collect funds from the public. Then look to coffee farming and organising co-operative societies.

Public life :

Immediately after arrival in the country was co-opted member of the Executive Committee of the Nyasaland African Congress (the nationalist movement in the country) 10 months after return to Nyasaland was made member of Nkata Bay District Council

which at its first meeting elected him member of the Northern Province Provincial Council which at its first meeting on 15th March 1956 elected him member for the Province in the country's Legislative Council.

When Dr. Banda arrived in the Country and was unanimously elected President of the Congress Chiume was made Publicity Secretary of the Congress movement.

In August, 1958, he represented Nyasaland at the first meeting of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa which sent him with Mr. Francis Khamis of Kenya to go and settle a dispute in Zanzibar among political parties there. With Dr. Banda he represented Nyasaland at the first All-African People's Conference in Accra and at the Tunis Conference in January this year he represented Nyasaland alone and was elected a member of the Steering Committee of the All-African People's Conference.

Chiume was on his way to Nyasaland (via London) when Dr. Banda and 1,328 others were arrested in Nyasaland on 3rd March, 1959. He escaped the police net in Kenya and flew back to London where he has been campaigning for the release of Dr. Banda and all the others and for the independence of Nyasaland outside the imposed Central Africa Federation. He has since visited Ghana, Guinea, Tunisia, Liberia, the United States and putting the case of Nyasaland before the people and governments in these countries.

Chiume visited Cairo where he held several poli-

tical rallies — Chiume found the people of the U.A.R. fully aware of the problems facing Nyasaland.

At the National Union Congress held on the 26th of March 1960 in Cairo Chiume made an important political speech which he started by extending his greetings to President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Chiume also said that President Nasser is regarded as the man who laid the foundation stone for thoughts of freedom throughout Africa. He added that the President has become an example followed by those who fight for freedom and independence from all imperialism in all countries of Africa and even outside the Continent.

NYASALAND AND AFRICA

An appeal to the World

Nyasaland has faced a year of barbarism and persecution from March 1959 to March 1960. The country is indeed, still forced against the wishes of her people, into a Central African Federation dominated by a handful of whites from Southern Rhodesia. It is heartening to note that Africa has spoken in this issue, but it needs to speak more loudly and indeed to act more vigorously before it is too late. The Monrovia resolutions by the African Foreign Ministers' Conference has been a great source of encouragement and inspiration. So has the support shown in all the Independent African states. This positive demonstration of solidarity shown in the whole continent of Africa is too great to be exaggerated.

If Nyasaland is lost to rest of Africa or it becomes part of a war base of imperialists, it could easily be used (who knows?) for the destruction of the whole of Africa. The Suez adventure, « the bombing of Sakiet in Tunisia by French imperialists, the invasion

of Ethiopia in 1935 by Italian imperialists and the French Atomic bombs test in the Sahara should remind Africa of the dangers of colonial and imperialistic enclaves of the continent. Indeed, when the invasion of the Suez took place Africans were used by imperialists in the aggression. They are Africans being used in the Algerian war today.

Yes, the dignity and security of Independent Africa cannot be ensured when 70% of the population of Africa falls prey to white exploiters supported by reactionary Governments in Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, etc.

Then of course, it must be appreciated that as long as the rest of Africa is still under imperialism, the Africans of the independent states are still likely to be treated with contempt and humiliation. « All Africans are liars », declared Lord Malvern, the first Central African Federal Prime Minister recently, illustrating the fantastic arrogance of European settlers. But he didn't say this in Salisbury. He said it in the British House of Lords. Independent Africans for their own sakes cannot afford to have colonialism thrive on the continent of Africa. It is only in Africa that we can expect fully committed support for our cause. However sympathetic a minority in Europe and America may be, public opinion is conditioned by newspapers and

politicians, who, when Cypriots, Kenya Africans, Malagasyans, and Algerians fight for freedom, call them terrorists. Nyasaland Africans even without guns are labelled « terrorists », while Hungarians who fought for the same thing were « freedom fighters » and the whole of Europe made noise in the United Nations and in all the public forums of the world, in defence of their « struggle for freedom ».

This illustrates the basic attitudes of Europe and indeed the so-called Christian world towards the whole African struggle for freedom. Conscious of our importance as a people, we must therefore close our ranks and together assert our African personality. It is Nyasaland and the Rhodesias today. It was Madagascar in 1948, it was the then Gold Coast in 1948, Kenya in 1952-57, the Belgian Congo in January, 1959, it is still Algeria as I write. It might be Basutoland, Angola, or Zanzibar tomorrow — who knows? But one thing we must know: let us unite to halt these humiliations and insults to our people. We have suffered too long to continue to be silent.

Nyasaland --- Some Essential Facts

Situated between Tanganyika on the North and North East, Portuguese East Africa on the East and South and the Rhodesias on the West, Nyasaland is a

long strip of beautiful country (nearly three-quarters of the area of England), some 520 miles long and from 50-100 miles in width. Its total area is 49,177* square miles, including a little less than 10,000 square miles of water which form Lake Nyasa — the third largest lake in Africa. Hot along the lake shore, Nyasaland is generally hilly and therefore cool.

The country is largely agricultural — tobacco, tea, cotton, maize, beans, groundnuts, rice and coffee are its main crops. It also produces tung oil and it is the third tea exporting area in the world. Africans grow the bulk of these crops except tea. Much propaganda is based on the apparent geological « poverty » of the country, but the fact is that the geological potential has not been fully tapped. The Africans in fact would not like this done till the future of their country shall be in their own hands. But the Nyasaland Report for the year 1957 gives this revealing picture of the real geological potential of Nyasaland :

« The following minerals are known to exist in the Protectorate, although hitherto comparatively little mining activity has taken place :

Alganite, apatite, asbestos, bauxite, beryl, betafite, coal, columbite, copper minerals (malachite, azurite and chalcopryite), corundum, davidite, dolomite, felspar, fluorspar, galena, garnet, gold, graphite, ilmenite, iron ore, kaolin and other clays, kyanite, limestone, magnesite, manganese ore, mica, molybdenite, monazite, nickel-bearing pyrrhotite, platinum, pyrochlore, rutile, talc, uraninite, vermiculite, zinc-blende and zircon.

Of these, only corundum, galena, gold, kyanite, limestone and mica are known to have been worked in the past ».

The population of Nyasaland consists of 3,000,000 Africans, 7,500 Europeans, and 10,000 Asians. 4% of the land is alienated to Europeans through methods which are disgraceful to Britain's allegedly great sense of justice. This is the best land in the country. Of the remaining land, about 10% is public land owned by Government, and, through the Government, by municipal and town councils and by the Federal Government. 86% of the land is called African Trust land. This cannot be said strictly speaking to be African land, for ultimately the Secretary of State for the Colonies controls it, and already quite a big portion of what was African Trust land has been turned into public land and nobody knows what next may happen

* Facts Sheet on the Commonwealth No. 3939, December, 1958.

to the rest. As recently as 1957, the Government was pressing for the buying and selling of land among Africans — a device gradually intended to transfer African land to European hands. Africans living on so-called European land pay annual rent in cash or by a period of free labour. This system which enslaves an African on his own land is called THANGATA.

The Government consists of the Governor, who has the power of veto over legislation and appointments, the Legislative Council and the Executive Council. The present Legislative Council consists of a speaker, nominated by the Governor (and not a member of the Council), 18 Europeans representing 7,500 Europeans and 7 Africans representing about 3,000,000 Africans. The Executive Council consists of 10 members including the Governor (president) the Chief Secretary, the Financial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Secretary for African Affairs (in an African country!!!) and the Director of Agriculture. There are, in addition, two other Europeans who are unofficial members of the Legislative Councils **but** not even one African because, as a Colonial Secretary hinted to us in 1947, we oppose Federation. No Africans can vote but there is a common voters' roll of about 2,000 Europeans and Asians weighed in favour of Europeans. The African members of Legislative

Council are elected indirectly by the three provincial councils and these consist of chiefs and commoners (elected by and from nominated District Councils).

Administratively the protectorate is divided into three provinces — the Northern, Central, and Southern Provinces. The first with a population of nearly half a million Africans (and the smallest and most scattered non-African population) is represented by one African member of Legislative Council. The other two with respectively over one million Africans have each two African members of Legislative Council.

Local Government in rural areas is carried out by District Councils, which are nominated — except in one district where about half the members are elected on a dubious franchise. These district councils, created in many districts by misleading the people as to their true composition, and resisted all over the country because they are multiracial in an African state, deal with exclusively African affairs; but in most districts, membership being nominated, are dominated by European members. In the towns, local government affairs are in the hands of a municipal council (in the case of Blantyre-Limbe, the amalgamated municipality), and town councils or rural area boards in the case of the others. On the municipal council of Blantyre-Limbe in spite of the fact that there are far more Africans than

Europeans in the town, there is not a single African either on the voters roll for local elections, or any African member of the council. The only African voter on the roll is, we were told of in the Legislative Council in 1958, dead.

Africans are supposed to be heard on these local Government bodies through Advisory Committees, on which sit nominated Africans (acceptable to the Government) presided over by District Commissioners. This virtually means that no African point of view, as would be expressed through elected representatives, is ever heard. As a result, there is residential segregation in the towns with Africans living in ramshackle hovels while Europeans live in very superior buildings and at a standard of living often far higher than they otherwise could have in Britain. Roads leading to African areas are tracks of potholes and are only improved when a Royal visitor or a Colonial Secretary is scheduled to visit areas to which they lead; sanitation and all other amenities are such that Africans in their own country are simply observers of life, while the Europeans, the foreigners, enjoy it.

The fact that Town Councils are controlled by Europeans with the help of a few Africans has made it very difficult for Africans to own property in Nyasaland towns. For some fifteen years now the Nyasaland

African Congress could not secure land or a building in the town for an office. When at one time African Trust land was made available (after pressure had been put on the chief by the District Commissioner), the Congress was stopped building when all the bricks had been brought to the site and the foundation had been made. Many Indians who had offered their premises for use by the Congress as offices, were intimidated by security men.

How Agriculture is made unpleasant.

Nyasaland is mainly agricultural land, and it will remain mainly so. The agricultural policy of the Government, is however, such that people look at agriculture not with pride but with disgust.

In the first place there are regulations prescribing the dates during which bunds and ridges must be made (even on flat land with primitive implements). These bunds are made, by law, during the dry months of September and October when the soil is as hard as dry brick. This is mostly done by women for men are recruited for work in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to build cities like Johannesburg and Salisbury in which the African is segregated and treated with contempt. There is also a date after which all the seeds must be planted. In some places there have even

been attempts to restrict the number of coffee trees or acres of land to be planted. European agriculture is not subject to such laws and European farmers can only be advised but cannot be forced.

How are these regulations being carried out? African Agricultural Instructors are sent to all villages under the instructions of European Agricultural officers (many of whom, as most Europeans do, act as Government Security Agents as well) to teach people « better methods » of agriculture. All those « offenders » are then taken before Chiefs' Courts to be tried while the District Commissioners, who act behind the scene, tell the chiefs they must raise revenue for their local Government treasury, otherwise there will be no money to pay them. One way of doing this is by fines. Chiefs therefore impose fines indiscriminately. Vic-timisation takes place and mercy is rarely shown. One classical case was that of an Agricultural instructor who wanted, but was refused, consent to marry. The following morning he brought the whole family before the chiefs court, and they were convicted of « negligent farming » ! ! People quarrel with the chiefs ; the District Commissioners play the innocent ! !

Pregnant women have been among those who have gone to prison for these alleged offences ; and when they come back, some of them find their gardens up-

rooted if not planted in accordance with the accepted rules ! ! As by then the rains have disappeared, they face the year with starvation for not following agricultural rules ! !

A new rule has been imposed upon chiefs giving power to Agricultural officers to refuse to allow anyone to open up a new garden on African Trust land ! ! Indeed the Government is taking pains to build up what they call « master farmers » with public money so that a middle class can be built which will rally behind the Europeans to exploit the ordinary African.

So unpopular and burdensome have been these agricultural measures that in many places, like Kota and Fort Johnston, the mobile police and the army have to be sent to force people to accept them. The Congress therefore had to declare a stand against this form of economic oppression. Our view was and is that people cannot be taught agriculture by bullets and guns and we committed, as the Governor reveals in the White Paper, the crime of telling the Africans that when the Congress comes to power, this stupid method of teaching people agriculture will be stopped at once.

Why have these measures ? You may ask. The answer is simple. The Nyasaland Government with the

support of the British Government has committed itself to preserving Nyasaland as a reservoir of cheap labour for the mines and farms in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Year after year thousands of people are enticed and forced by powerful recruiting agents to go and work in those countries, with the backing of Government, through the intimidation of Chiefs by District Commissioners. These people are « sold », (in the Southern Rhodesia market at £ 22 for a fresh recruit and at £ 16 for an old one) to the farmers and miners in that country. To get these able-bodied men to leave home, agriculture, which forms the cornerstone of their livelihood, has to be made unpleasant. They therefore offer themselves to the recruiters. In this way, it is hoped the land will lie idle, and under the pretence of helping Africans, Europeans can be brought to own farms and occupy land. This is, of course, not the declared policy of the government; but it is difficult for us to interpret their actions in any other way.

A Primitive Cooperative Department :

Coupled with this, is the Government's refusal to allow African growers to market co-operatively their tobacco, cotton and groundnuts, which are the big money-earning cash crops. The growers do their selling through marketing boards staffed with Europeans or

with European Companies acting as agents of the boards. To make sure that the thirst for co-operation is frustrated, the Co-operative Department is the most primitive I have ever seen, manned by a Commissioner with not an inkling of co-operative knowledge. All the officers are Europeans, some of whom are ex-Public Works men and have very little of any training at all in co-operation. The Africans who are most experienced, some of them with better training in co-operation, occupy positions which are inferior and therefore cannot influence policy. The net result is that the African is made to feel the uselessness of his sweating for agricultural production and thus falls an easy prey to the recruiters and exploiters.

The Civil Service

The Nyasaland Civil Service is divided into a senior and a junior section. The Junior section is exclusively for Africans. Any European, no matter how inferior might be his educational background, or little his experience, will have a house built for him before he is recruited, and will enjoy amenities of life he might never dream of in his own country. The Senior section of the Civil Service is for Europeans. Of late some 38 Africans have been admitted into the Senior section but as soon as this took place, all the Euro-

peans in their grade were upgraded or given other posts.

Another disturbing feature of the Civil Service is lack of scholarships for training Africans to prepare them for higher posts. Nepotism by Europeans forms to a great extent the basis of promotion. European women do jobs which normally would be done by Africans. In spite of the fact that, for example, there are many Africans who could become Administrative officers, none is at the moment occupying such a post. These and similar posts are reserved for Europeans who are in the country or those who are to come. Paradoxically many Nyasas occupy such posts as Assistant Superintendent of Police or Prisons, Medical Officers, Administrative Officers, etc., in Tanganyika and other territories. However well educated, they cannot reach these heights in their own country. The Africans are told that the door of advancement is open to them, but the British have kept Apartheid specialists as the door keepers.

In 1957, Sir Roy Wellensky and the British Government agreed on a convention giving the Federal Government power to build its own locally based service. Under this, while paying lip service to African advancement, the Europeans can gain complete control of the Civil Service and not only fill it with Euro-

peans of the type found down South but African promotion would be out but for propaganda. This has already been done, particularly in the Police Force.

Divide and Rule in the Civil Service

To divide the African ; in the Civil Service, the 38 Africans promoted into the Senior section were urged by the Governor to resign from the Nyasaland African Civil Servants Association, which embodies all African Civil Servants, and join the European Civil Servants Association. As a disguise, the latter association while remaining essentially European changed its name. The Governor's motives were clear. He wanted the senior African removed from the leadership of African Civil Servants ; should this be accomplished, they would be rendered powerless in the bargaining for better wages for Africans, and African Civil Servants would be left without enlightened leadership. The African could not be fooled. Hence the arrests of Senior African Civil Servants in the March swoop.

Such is the privileged position of the European in Nyasaland that even heads of department resist the promotion of Africans. Most notorious of all the cases is that of the Accountant General in whose department an African was promoted on 6 months probation as an Assistant Accountant. The Accountant General,

who had resisted this promotion is said to have threatened to resign rather than have an African in his department occupying that position. The African was immediately transferred and demoted !! In the past the Africans were told they could not occupy higher posts in the Civil Service because they had neither the academic nor professional training, when they got the necessary training the Africans were told education was not enough, they had to have «integrity», «honesty», «loyalty» and «responsibility» — to be judged for these qualities, of course, by Europeans, many of whom are of inferior education. Under this cover higher posts are reserved for Europeans and for the wives from Britain and other parts of Europe. With this as their policy, they have the impertinence to tell us that we cannot rule ourselves because we have no men of our own in the civil service.

The Police

THE POLICE, though part of the civil service, is more conveniently treated separate. This instrument of oppression has, like any other department, a senior section reserved for whites (these days mostly from Rhodesia) except for a few Africans who have been recently promoted. Every European, irrespective of his educational background, automatically enters the Police Force as a member of the senior section, and

becomes a boss over Africans. Africans, however, irrespective of their education and experience, are invariably recruited right at the bottom as constables. When some Africans were promoted to the rank of Assistant Inspectors, all the Europeans in the rank were upgraded to Inspectors of Police.

In addition to the regular police force, the Police Mobile Force has been built after the imposition of Federation. This consists of illiterates trained by Southern Rhodesia Europeans. This section of the force terrorises villages during the growing season; and must have had a great share in the destruction of African life and property during March this year. It is indeed the force of trained toughs by which the undemocratic government of Nyasaland is maintained.

Then there is the security section of the Police. This is controlled from Salisbury and has a network all over Nyasaland. Security men are found as teachers, Agricultural officers, clerks and as Congress officials as well. One member of the Congress Central Executive Committee was promised £ 25 a month to supply information. (Before the Congress had been banned he had already been relieved of his place on the Executive Committee). A Civil Servant reported to the Congress of a similar offer by a security officer in ad-

dition to promotion and an advance to buy a new car. He declined the offer — he is now in detention and so is his wife with a baby of three months.

As instruments of oppression, it is part of the duty of policemen to visit every village and collect what they call «complaints». During these patrols, they visit schools, churches, Court houses, etc. It goes without saying that on this pretext they are in fact intimidating people opposed to federation and reporting them.

At every meeting, agents provocateurs were active. Some even acted as interpreters. No meetings could be held without permits from the police, and chiefs were forced in addition to police ones, to issue permits after pressure from the Government. To prevent meetings, chiefs were intimidated into refusing permits by District Commissioners. At the last annual conference of the Nyasaland African Congress, the Police withdrew a week-old permit for the conference after our delegates had travelled all the way from Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Northern Rhodesia. The reason given by the police was that the chief had objected to the meeting being held. When the matter was fully investigated, it was learnt that the Provincial Commissioner had visited the chief the night before the conference, and intimidated him into refusing the permit. It was interesting to see his junior, who on

the 3rd of March ordered the shooting of 20 people, including 3 women and 2 children in the area, telling us the following morning how anxious to help the Government was, but how it could not override the decision of the chief !!! The Government daily overrides decisions of chiefs !!!

Education

EDUCATION — THE KEY TO PROGRESS — has been used by imperialists to try to produce a community with slave mentality. When there was discontent in the country in 1915, as a result of oppression and humiliation, many Africans were lined up and shot dead by a European firing squad on the orders of a British Governor. Thereafter, settlers agitated against «educating the natives» as education spoilt them and gave them false aspirations. While the Government did not go with the settlers all the way, certainly up to 1942, the highest standard that an African could reach in the country was Standard six and he was told that after reaching this standard, his education was as good as that attained at Edinburgh University ! Indeed false values of education were encouraged and people were directly or indirectly encouraged to go out of the country to look for jobs. The jobs they could have done at home were reserved for expatriates and their wives.

It was not until after over fifty years of British imperialism in the country that the first scholarships for University education were awarded to Africans. This was only done after pressure from the Congress and chiefs, involving the sending of a deputation to London in 1947. This combined agitation led the Government to grant annual scholarships to our students to go outside the country for University education. The Government however has only been sending about two students per year and almost invariably no students would be sent to study such «dangerous» subjects as Law. It is understood that Makerere College, the University College of East Africa, offered to give Nyasaland the same status as the four East African territories, so that after payment of a lump annual sum, Nyasaland could send to Makerere as many students on the same basis as East African territories. This was rejected by imperialists and ever since the pattern of sending only one or two students a year has not only been maintained but also passed on to Sir Roy's Government whose attitude to Africans is too well known, as a result of his recent performances in Nyasaland, to be elaborated here.

In a nutshell, the present educational set-up in Nyasaland is such that about half of the children of school-going age get two years of education. Less than half of these get an extra three years of education,

after which the majority are thrown into the streets at early ages only to fall easy victims to recruiting agents. Those who have the chance of continuing after the first five years go for another two years, and only a small percentage of these find their way into secondary schools, from which only two students per year are selected, throughout the country, for University education !!!

Indeed the selection of students for Indian as well as other scholarships is now in the hands of the Federal Government and since passports are also controlled by the same Government only those Africans who are acceptable to the reactionary Government in Salisbury can hope to go out of the country. The policy is thus maintained of keeping Nyasaland as a reservoir of cheap labour for the mines and farms of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

Even Culture was the Target

EVER SINCE NYASALAND became a British Protectorate, the imperialists have done all they could to destroy African culture. African dancing, music and indeed the African way of life has been condemned as barbaric. Children in schools have been taught to look at the Europeans as a superior man (to be called «Bwana» or master), and that the African has no

culture, no history, no past. He is a barbarian the European has come to civilise; and to be civilised he has to be a white man in all respects except in colour. Such great civilisations as were found in Ghana, Mali, Egypt, Sudan, Ngoni and Nyamwezi empires are not mentioned in schools and great African generals and statesmen as Chaka Digaan, Lobengula, Mkwawa, or to come home, Kambondoma Zongedaba and Baza are treated as notorious characters. In their place, children are taught about such pirates as Francis Drake as wonderful people.

When one sees how to a certain extent African culture has been preserved in other parts of Africa in the form of sculpture, music, dancing and weaving, one gets sick at the extent to which the people not only in Nyasaland but also in the rest of Southern Africa, are being conditioned to despise their own background, and develop slave mentalities so that they will accept their present inferior status. Before the white men came to Nyasaland, the Africans had their own well organised industries. They made fishing nets which even imperialists have admitted are best suited for the conditions in the country (though the Africans are still being encouraged to buy imported ones). Our art of weaving making salt and smelting iron for spears, hoes and other implements has been stamped out and very little is done to encourage the develop-

ment of such indigenous industries as basketry, pottery carving and the like. Indeed our concept of socialism whereby the Africans share their sorrow and joys in their villages is being replaced by an individualistic conception of society.

All this is Doomed to Failure

IMPERIALISTS HAD HOPED by doing all this that they could stamp out nationalisation in the country, implant an inferiority complex among the Africans of Nyasaland, alienate them culturally, socially and politically in their own country. They had hoped and worked to destroy unity and reduce us to warring tribal groups quarrelling among ourselves so that we could be ruled. To maintain their rule, they built a psychological iron curtain of lies, distortions and propaganda around us in order to shield us from seeing the achievements of our fellow Africans in other parts of Africa. They had all the papers to do this; for since 1956 when the Nyasaland African Congress won all the African seats in the Nyasaland Legislative Council, no European or Asian printer has dared print the only African paper (run by Congress, and called KWACA, or Dawn), for fear of police victimisation.

While imperialists have succeeded in building pri-

sions for imprisoning human bodies, they cannot imprison the human mind. By their wide travelling all over the continent and the world, the Africans of Nyasaland have acquired and developed a national consciousness which bound them together both at home and abroad. Outside Nyasaland, they sought the education and wealth denied them in their own country. They would stay out of the country for years but most of them would seek to come back home, even if it meant only their final rest. The fact that there are only two major languages in the country (with one of them being understood throughout the country) helped to build this consciousness and common sufferings in and outside the country helped to cement it.

Some Nyasas played a leading role in politics as well as trade unionism outside their own country. Among these is Clements Kadalie who founded the powerful trade union movement called the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (the I.C.U.) in South Africa with branches in Southern Rhodesia. This was the first real political and workers' mass movement in S.A. The majority however went back or stayed at home and in 1944 built the Nyasaland African Congress, at the inaugural conference of which representatives of tribal organisations and district associations and prominent Africans in the country decided to work together to wage a common onslaught on im-

perialism. At the Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, 1945, the Nyasaland African Congress was represented by Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda.

So great was the support of the Chiefs and people, that when the British government in collusion with the settlers in Central Africa, imposed Federation in the teeth of united African opposition, the Nyasaland African Congress became the most powerful force against federation and it has been such ever since. After its delegation had been treated with contempt in Britain and its views ignored, it successfully organised the boycott of Queen Elizabeth's coronation in protest against federation and launched positive action. This was ruthlessly suppressed by forces of imperialism and eleven non-violent peaceful demonstrators some with bibles in their hands were shot dead by soldiers brought in from outside. (It is believed our own policemen refused to shoot their own brother and sisters). A sick elderly but very important chief Gomari was ruthlessly forced out of his home and then deposed. He was so manhandled that he died later in hospital. Rev. Michael Scott who was with him was deported.

Many chiefs who protested against federation have been deposed since 1953, and two people were deported after prison sentences, to malarial places in

the country. The police were strengthened, the history and geography syllabi were altered in such a way that children were indoctrinated with federal propaganda. Education officers were commissioned to see to it that students accepted federation while congressmen were victimised in business as well as in other walks of life. To be a Congressman was indeed a crime. In the attempt to break up the Congress from without, laws were passed to make it difficult for us to raise funds and thus to organise ourselves and also to hold public meetings; from within, the organisation was infiltrated with spies and informers. On the pattern of Southern Rhodesia, a law was passed giving powers to the Governor to deport African leaders from outside and thus they wanted to make the building of African inter-territorial unity impossible. The post of a Secretary for African Affairs was created, again on the pattern of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (in a country with 3,000,000 Africans and only 7,500 Europeans). This post, though resented by Africans, is at present occupied by a Rhodesian settler who is a Rhodes scholar and thus an Empire builder.

The Congress did not die as it was hoped. It was too deeply rooted in the minds of the people to be destroyed. In 1956, in spite of the fact that the salaries of Chiefs had been raised the day before, all the five African seats in the Legislative Council were won by

the Congress. Government-sponsored and backed candidates who had campaigned with Government-sponsored and backed candidates who had campaigned with Government money and transport had been heavily defeated. In 1957, Roy Welensky's and the Governor-General's visits were boycotted, though security agents were sent all over the country to intimidate people into coming and meeting them. The Governor-General was boycotted last year in places where Dr. Banda was cheered by thousands.

But the Congress however, had to build itself to be taken seriously as a force against imperialism. As long as reactionary politicians and their henchmen were in power, it could not become such a force. Not only were these people removed from positions of influence (Chirwa was expelled) but with the backing of the chiefs, Dr. Banda who had always helped to build the Congress, was called from Ghana (where he was practising in Kumasi as a General Practitioner) to come and lead the country as President of the Congress. In a short time the Doctor transformed a Congress from an organisation of about 83 disorganised branches to one with 200 disciplined branches in the country and several more outside. Thousands of Africans came to his meetings and to cheer him wherever he went. Where governors were boycotted he was cheered by thousands. Chiefs and commoners,

men and women, young and old, found in him the honesty, determination, the sincerity and the courage they needed in their leader to break up federation and to gain national independence for their country. Within that short period of eight months, he had gone round the whole country, and thousands had endorsed the stand of the congress on its twin-objects : SECESSION AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Dr. Banda must be Prime Minister :

This reaction of the people to Dr. Banda gave a lie to the propaganda that only a few people were opposed to federation. The immediate reaction of the Government was therefore to break up this support of the masses for Dr. Banda and the Congress. Wherever people came to welcome and cheer their leader they were beaten. Under the pretence of preventing and putting down rioting, many people were arrested, including 37 peaceful women demonstrators. In one district, about a month after the Doctor's arrival, a District Commissioner went on tour with soldiers, policemen and court messengers. He gathered villagers wherever he went and fined them on framed up agricultural and other offences. In some places he tied up the people and dragged them for miles before they were tried. Congressmen who were there were sentenced to imprisonment on the orders of the District Com-

missioner. Soldiers were shooting here and there to intimidate people.

Leaflets were issued to discredit the Congress and African members of the Legislative Council as part of the deliberate campaign of vilification. The Congress however became a mighty force with the support of the people and the backing of the chiefs. Imperialists therefore had to invent the massacre plot story to carry on their iniquitous scheme and save themselves from embarrassment. Since the plot story is known to be framed up to discredit nationalist leaders, it is not worth the limited space available to dwell on it at length. But this must be understood. The world was told in 1953 of a massacre plot to burn Georgetown, British Guiana, and another in Ghana in 1948, and of the so-called Grivas diaries in connection with Archbishop Makarios diaries in Cyprus. But just as the British people now recognise Cheddi Jagan as the de facto Prime Minister of British Guiana, Kwame Nkrumah as a respected Prime Minister within the Commonwealth, and Macmillan had to sit shoulder to shoulder with Archbishop Makarios before he could solve the Cyprus problem, the Africans of Nysaland know that a day must come when the British Government will recognise Dr. Banda as the Prime Minister of Independent Nysaland.

What Nyasaland Wants

WHY DO THE AFRICANS of Nyasaland oppose the Central African Federation ?

The Central African Federation is the perpetuation of the Southern Rhodesian European domination over the Africans in Southern Rhodesia is no different from that of South Africa and indeed in some cases it is even worse. Nearly half of the European immigrants into Central Africa today come from South Africa. In the Southern Rhodesian Parliament there is not a single African member and the Europeans who are governing the country have made it clear that if the number of the few Africans on the voters' roll tends to increase legislative steps will be taken to prevent this happening. The Federation itself, which virtually means the surrender of power by Britain to settler in Central Africa, is nothing but the entrenchment of Rhodesian whites in the area. In an assembly of 59 members, there are only 12 Africans elected or nominated in such a way that only those who are acceptable to the Europeans can be elected. A set-up in which 47 members of Parliament represent 300,000 Europeans and 12 are said, but do not in fact, represent the 7,000,000 Africans cannot be accepted by Africans of Central Africa, even if it is rubber-stamped by the British Government or blessed by its apologists.

Indeed, the Central African Federation is, from the point of Europeans, a unitary state. It controls their education, their agriculture (except in Nyasaland), and all the major function of any state. The so-called African Affairs have been left as pockets of functions here and there, so that Africans can be lured effective and definite oppression.

It is argued that Nyasaland cannot stand alone and that she is too poor to do so. In the first place, Nyasaland was not a poverty stricken pauper at the doors of a benevolent Southern Rhodesia when she was forced into the Central African Federation. She was viable, balanced her budget and had a surplus.

This was admitted by the Governor when he came to England last year and reiterated by the Financial Secretary in the Legislation re Council in March, 1958. Nyasaland is not as poor as it is alleged to be. Its agricultural potential is immense, its fish industry not fully developed and its geological wealth not adequately surveyed. As mentioned elsewhere it has thirty-eight economic mineral already including coal, copper, gold, lead, iron, ore (of 60-70 % extraction compared with a British average of 30 %), manganese, mica, platinum, titanium and thorium (a radio-active materials used as an alternative to uranium). Indeed, the Africans of Nyasaland would prefer slow ordered develop-

ment with the recognition of their human dignity to the so-called rapid development in humiliation, oppression and subjugation. If the worst came to the worst, they would prefer poverty in freedom to servitude in tranquility. Indeed, within the Central African Federation, Nyasaland Africans cannot have the right to a dignified existence as obtains in Independent African States and nor can they have the right to choose the Government under which they shall live and die.

What the Africans of Nyasaland want is the immediate release of Dr. Banda, and all other detainees, the lifting of the Emergency and allowing of the Congress to function normally again. Over and above this, they demand an immediate new constitution giving the Africans of Nyasaland effective control of the Legislative Council and the Executive Council and the unconditional granting of independence.

The Africans of Nyasaland reject the present Legislative Council as a reflection of the will of the people, for while non-Africans who constitute a small percentage of the population are represented by 18 members, the three million Africans who form the majority are represented by five. The European Official Members are no longer regarded as spokesmen of the Africans, for on major issues affecting the des-

tiny of Africans — the collective views of these officials is completely opposed to the wishes of the people. This applies equally to the District Commissioners and their subordinates who, after all, are spokesmen of a Government not answerable to the people.

Consequently the Africans of Nyasaland demand that the Legislative Council be re-organised so that it consists of forty members, thirty-two of whom shall be Africans, six non-Africans, and two Official Members, the Attorney General and the Financial Secretary. All the African members must be elected on the basis of One Man Vote.

With the present Council as it stands, one African member represents six hundred thousand people. In Britain, where the public can be easily informed on current affairs of the nation by means of television, radio and newspapers and there is easy communication between Members and their constituents, one member represents less than one-sixth of this number. In my country, therefore, in which there are no proper newspapers, no proper radio broadcasts, let alone television, to inform the public and means of transport are limited, the ratio of one member to six-hundred thousands is very unsatisfactory indeed. Accordingly, in order to have effective representation of the people in the Legislative Council, Africans of Nyasaland de-

mand that constituencies should be worked out in such a way that one of them should represent a number of people who can be easily approached and reached. Thirty-two African members on the Legislative Council each to represent 90,000 is the best solution to this problem.

The Future : An Appeal to African States

LET THERE BE no mistake about the determination of the Africans of Nyasaland to free themselves. They are determined that in their own country they shall have no masters but themselves. In this there can be no compromise. Imperialists no doubt will try to build up stooges, buy Macharias to give false evidence, arrest leaders and intimidate the led. All the same, the Africans of Nyasaland are determined to rally behind Dr. Banda in the struggle for freedom. Backward they shall not turn: forward they shall always march.

Yet we must not be left alone. We need the support and backing of all the African independent and dependent countries. We need the support of a united stand of all independent African States in the United Nations and other international organisations to fight for us. Not only in respect of Nyasaland but also of all countries still under the colonial yoke in Africa, the independent African States must reject the contention

that oppression and suppression of human rights in these countries constitute the domestic affairs of the imperial and colonial powers, under which cover Africans are being oppressed and denied elementary human rights in Angola, Mozambique, Algeria, South Africa, Kenya, Congo, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, where a ruthless dictatorship of Civil Servants backed and pushed about by a handful of settlers with the support of the British Government is dominating 3,000,000 Africans on behalf of only 7,500 Europeans.

The African Independent States must stand firm on the question of self-determination for the colonies, fully realising that their own independence is not secure if the rest of Africa is still enslaved. The ironic suggestion that the Central African Federation must be considered as a positive insult to the African states, who by implication are not regarded by imperialists and their fellow travellers as capable of retaining civilisation within their boundaries.

In this respect, the importance of unity among the Independent African states in the United Nations is too great to be exaggerated and I hope our states will do all in their power to preserve this unity. Equally, I hope that when Nigeria, Somalia, the Cameroons and Togoland are free as they shall be, in 1960, they shall take their rightful place among the in-

dependent African freedom. The people of Nyasaland have only one promise to make in return for Africa's help in her struggle, it is that however difficult may be our present circumstances, we shall do all we can to help Africa to help us.

We shall not only work against imperialism but when we are free we shall take our rightful place among the Independent African States to fight imperialism and colonialism in the continent.

And to the People of the World :

Equally, the people of the world cannot keep silent, when colonialists and imperialists oppress and murder people in Nyasaland, the Rhodesias, Algeria, South Africa, Uganda, Angola and other colonial territories.

APPENDIX I

DECLARATION

adopted by the EMERGENCY MEETING of the STEERING COMMITTEE of the ALL - AFRICAN PEOPLES' CONFERENCE held in CONAKRY on the 15th, 16th and 17th April 1959.

1) In response to the urgent appeal of African nationalist leaders of Nyasaland, the Rhodesias and the Belgian Congo for aid and assistance against the brutal offensive of the forces of imperialism and colonialism let loose on the peoples in these territories, and conscious of our responsibility to our fellow African Freedom Fighters, the Steering Committee of the All - African Peoples' Conference convened a special Emergency Meeting in CONAKRY, GUINEA, on 15th April 1959, the first anniversary of African Freedom Day.

2) Shocked and horrified by the reports of the accredited representatives of the Nyasaland National Congress, the S.R. National Congress, the mouvement National Conglais, the Congolese

Democratic Party (Abako) and the Cameroons Progressive Union, this meeting declares its solidarity with our brothers and comrades imprisoned or exiled and demands their immediate release. We also sent a message of sympathy to the relatives of the unarmed and defenceless men and women killed for no other crime than supporting non-violent means the demand for racial equality, human dignity and national independence.

3) We indignantly reject and refute the slanderous allegations against the A.A.P.C. and tales of massacre by the Nyasaland Congress leaders with the blood of the black martyrs of liberty, in order to find a scapegoat for their wicked deeds for which they shall one day be brought to account, and reaffirm our adherence to the resolutions of the Accra Conference.

4) We appeal to the independent African States, to our brothers in Asia, to Africans and peoples of African descent, to the religious leaders of the world and to all true friends and champions of African Freedom to join with us in condemning the wanton brutality of the authorities in the Federation of Central Africa, especially in Nyasaland and the Belgian Congo, and to render every assistance — financial and moral — to relieve the sufferings of those in distress of our brothers in these territories.

5) In conformity to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we request the members of the United Nations to make a clear and unequivocal declaration whether or not they unconditionally support the legitimate aspirations of the African Freedom Fighters for self-determination and independence. Those who are not with us in this hour of crisis shall not only be considered the enemies of the colonial peoples of Africa, but the independent African States as well. For, as the solution of the Accra Conference warns, as long as there remains one imperialist stronghold on this African Continent, the freedom and security of every independent African State is faced with the danger of aggression.

6) The situation demands our constant watchfulness and vigilance. All imperialist intrigues, manoeuvres and acts of subversion aimed at discrediting the independent African States and undermining their tranquility and security must be unmasked and exposed as part of a consorted plan by the colonialist powers to keep Africa divided and weak.

7) Not unmindful of the tragic events in Algeria where our comrades are defending themselves

against the armed violence of French imperialism this Emergency Meeting of the Steering Committee of the A.A.P.C. therefore calls upon all workers by hand and brain, all tillers of the soil, all progressive and patriotic intellectuals, the women and youths of Africa, to close their ranks, unite their forces and discipline themselves for the final liquidation of colonialism, i.e. the strike economic boycott wherever necessary and possible .

- 8) We categorically reject the claim of those imperialists who assert that Africa is a part or continuation of Europe, and we denounced and repudiate those African misleaders who would have our Continent continue to be misruled from London, Paris, Brussels, Lisbon or Madrid, under any guise or form.

We proclaim and support the African Personality within the African Community.

FORWARD TO INDEPENDENCE NOW !

LONG LIVE THE UNBREAKABLE UNITY OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES !

LONG LIVE THE ALL - AFRICAN PEOPLES' CONFERENCE !

الدار القومية للطباعة والنشر
٣٠ شارع منصور - القاهرة

No. 6

P.T. 10

Printed by
THE NATIONAL PUBLICATIONS HOUSE PRESS